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May Day Celebrations produced the usual large volume of central and regional press and radio output. The demonstrations are reported to have been considerably shorter than usual, and the civilian aspect of the parades shared almost equally with the military. Most parades were led by children carrying flowers instead of by garrison units or military cadets as in the past. Children with flowers are also shown in front of the Presidium members on the reviewing stand in the picture front-paged by all central papers. In most regional May Day comment the peace theme stands out, although "the machinations of the warmongering West" are not overlooked. The Party and Government leadership is usually referred to as a body and, with few exceptions in Malenkov's case, there is virtually no mention of individual leaders. Among the other major topics which claim attention in connection with May Day are the friendship of peoples, material welfare, and Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. There has been a slight increase in references to friendship among non-Russian peoples of the USSR but no marked diminution in tribute to the Great Russian people.

Friendship of Peoples, is discussed along conventional lines by HADJANSKA UKRAINA in two consecutive editorials (24 and 25 April). The "Ukrainian people will always remember and 'sacredly discharge their very first international obligation' (svyato vykonuyut sviy naipershiy internatsionalniy obovyazok) to the Socialist Fatherland, which is a union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The theme of peace headed by this union, says the paper, is now much larger and more powerful than ever, since it includes one-third of mankind (odna tretyna lyudstva). Friendship of peoples based on the "principles of proletarian internationalism" extends also to the peoples' democracies in Europe and in Asia, which are held together by ties of mutual assistance and cooperation for peace.

PRAVDA (30 April) speaks in similar terms of the "hundreds of nationalities, national groups and tribes" now united into a single fraternal family of nations under the leadership of the Communist Party. With the help of the Russians former colonies and semi-colonies on Russia's periphery have now become independent states with their own constitutions and legislatures: "With the fraternal aid of the Great Russian nation all the peoples of the USSR have attained remarkable successes in economic and cultural construction" (Pri bratskoy pomoshchi velikogo russkogo naroda vse narody SSSR dostigli zamechatelnykh uspekhnov v khozaystvennom i kulturnom stroitelstve). That is why "no one will be allowed" (nikomu ne budet pozvoleno) to weaken or disrupt the close ties among the various nationalities of the country.

Referring to the people's democracies, the paper notes the "ties of fraternal friendship" (uzy bratskoy druzhby) and implies that the Soviet Union (rather than the Great Russians) is their benefactor and that the satellites are the primary beneficiaries of this fraternal friendship:

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The Soviet Union offers the people's democracies extremely cheap and first-rate technical assistance which secures the rapid development of the industry.

Russian text

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Sovetskiy Soyuz okazyvayet narodno-demokraticeskim stranam maksimalno deshevuyu i tekhnicheskuyu pervoklassnuyu pomoshch, chto obespechivayet vysokie tempy razvitiya promyshlennosti etikh stran.

Regional comment on inter-republican friendship follows the established general line with some references to local conditions. Broadcasts from the Ukraine speak of the intense preparations for the celebration of the tercentenary of Russo-Ukrainian unification. A transmission from Tbilisi, Georgian SSR, (28 April) quotes a YARVA VOSTOKA article by the Chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium on "the traditional fraternal ties of the Azerbaijan people with the Armenian and Georgian people." (This theme is not new; references to it were made in Bagirov and

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Mgeladze speeches in 1952.) A report from Baku broadcast on the same day says that the Presidium Chairman's article, carried by the Republic's major newspapers, paints a true picture of the friendship of peoples in the USSR:

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Every day the Azerbaijani people feel the blessings of friendship with the Great Russian people. The traditional brotherly relations of the Azerbaijani people...with the Georgian and Armenian peoples expand and strengthen daily.

A ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial monitored on 28 April stresses the paramount importance of strengthening "the invincible friendship of peoples" which Mgeladze, Rukhadze and Co reportedly tried to undermine. Our inviolable friendship with the Great Russian people and the fraternity and friendship with the neighboring Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples, the paper asserts, are governed by the principles of proletarian internationalism, which is "a very important aspect" of socialist ideology. The importance of this type of internationalism is also emphasized by the fact that it is a most effective weapon in the "irreconcilable struggle" (vse mirimimoy borbe) against such remnants of bourgeois ideology as cosmopolitanism and local nationalism. A summarized report from Baku (in Russian, 28 April) on the Georgian dance ensemble visiting Azerbaijan quotes its leader as saying that

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For a long time the Azerbaijan and Georgian peoples have been linked by strong mutual interests. We are watching the growth of Azerbaijan's national culture with great interest.

Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism are frequently mentioned in many regional broadcasts on the May Day festivities in connection with peace, unity, international solidarity and other themes. Azizyan's PRAVDA article on 30 April says that proletarian internationalism is not confined to Soviet nationalities but is still symbolized by the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" Cosmopolitanism and the Socialist International are dismissed as "the other side of the bourgeois-nationalism coin" (oborotnaya storona burzhuaznogo natsionalizma), that is, "the bitterest enemies" (zleishie vrugi) of international solidarity of the working class. Azizyan implies that although its main objective, the irreconcilable struggle against all traitors and stranglers (dushiteli) of national liberation movements, has not changed, new international conditions have introduced new values since

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with the emergence of the Soviet socialist State, loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism is also taken to mean the fraternal support of the USSR. All the progressive people of the world consider it their patriotic duty and international obligation to support the Soviet Union.

Russian text:

CPYRGHT

S poyavleniem sovetskogo sotsialisticheskogo gosudarstva vernost printsipam proletarskogo internatsionalizma oznachayet v to zhe vremya bratskuyu podderzhku SSSR. Vse progressivnie lyudi mira schitayut svoim patrioticheskim dolgom i internatsionalnoy obyazannostyu podderzhiyat Sovetskii Soyuz.

This new standard of loyalty is self-evident, according to Azizyan, inasmuch as the international ties of the USSR workers with those of the capitalist countries form one of the cornerstones" (odin iz krayeugolnikov kamney) of Soviet strength and power.

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A similar line though in a somewhat different context is pursued by Pryamkov in his TRUD article of 1 May (not broadcast). Paying the customary tribute to the Great Russian people, "the cementing force" (tsementiruyushchaya sila) of people's friendship, he says that the peculiar quality of Soviet patriotism is that it "harmoniously combines" progressive national traditions with the common interests of the entire USSR population. But "his sort of patriotism, it is claimed, has too many enemies in the capitalist world who deny the ideals of progressive national traditions, love for one's country and even national sovereignty. The worst of those enemies are the cosmopolites and the followers of the Socialist International with their reactionary ideology whose "sharp point" (ostrio) is aimed at the Soviet Union and the people's democracy. It is because of them as well as against their recruits among us, "the career seekers and degenerates" (karyeristy i pererozhdentsy), that "we must keep our powder dry" (nado derzhat porokh sukhim). It is the duty of the Communist Party therefore to combat such "false patriotism" by educating the workers in the spirit of friendship of peoples, in the spirit of internationalism and "fraternal ties with the workers of all countries" (bratskie svyazi s trudyashchimisya vsekhn stran).

In a discussion of patriotism versus internationalism by N. Matyushkin appearing in LITERARY GAZETTE (21 April, not broadcast) the point is made that contrary to bourgeois affirmations "the unity and indivisibility" (edinnost i nerazdelnost) of the two concepts had been established in Lenin's theory of the class struggle. Internationalism, it is claimed, has been an important ingredient of Soviet policy on the domestic and foreign fronts since the October Revolution. Within the country (vnutri strany) the spirit of internationalism has been fostered with a view to securing friendly relations among the various nationalities of the USSR. Referring to the employment of that principle in the international arena, Matyushkin quotes Lenin as having said that it had been used as an effective tactic immediately before and during the October Revolution:

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That tactic was exclusively internationalist since it fully utilized the practical attainments in one country in order to develop, support and stir up revolution in all countries.

Russian text:

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Eta taktika byla edinstvenno internatsionalistskoy, ibo provodila maksimum osushchestvlimogo v odnoy strane dlya razvitiya, podderzhki, probuzhdeniya revolyutsii vo vsekhn stranakh.

Matyushkin, also points out that while the Soviet Union, as a champion of peace and genuine internationalism, has many friends abroad and enjoys the universal sympathy of the world's workers, it must at the same time be acutely vigilant. Hence the Party's exhortations to maintain a high degree of "revolutionary vigilance" (revolyutsionnaya bditelnost) against possible attempts to undermine proletarian internationalism. Hence, too, the new criteria for distinguishing friend from foe beyond the borders of the USSR:

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The attitude toward the Soviet Union is now the most important criterion of loyalty to the ideals of internationalism, to the cause of international democracy and socialism. It is impossible to be a true fighter for the interest of the peoples, it is impossible to be a true internationalist without being a friend and devotee of the Soviet Union.

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Russian text:

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Otnoshenie k Sovetskoyu Soyuzu yavlyayetsya teper vazh-
neishim kriteriem vernosti ideyam internatsionalizma,
delu mezhdunarodnoy demokratii i sotsializma. Nelzya
byt podlinnym bortsom za interesy narodov, nelzya byt
podlinnym internatsionalistom, ne buduchi drugom i
storonnikom Sovetskogo Soyuza.

The Peace Theme: Central and regional comments on peace on the occasion of May Day and the treatment of that theme in a variety of related contexts has not revealed any appreciable qualitative difference from similar previous campaigns. Malenkov's statement that "there are no controversial issues that cannot be settled by peaceful negotiation," the desirability of a Five-Power peace pact and the Soviet Union's willingness to work toward this goal are frequently referred to. Perhaps the most trenchant "appeal for peace" is contained in Ilya Ehrenburg's PRAVDA article "Hope" (Nadezhda) broadcast to Europe on 1 May. His allegorical allusions to the Cold War, the hopes generated by the current Korean negotiations and the "nostalgic" reminiscence of the "heartfelt" (serdechnaya) meeting on the Elbe eight years ago are meant to underline imperialism's resistance to universal peace. Recalling a recent remark by an unnamed British statesman (apropos the new Soviet peace drive) that "one swallow does not make a summer," Ehrenburg concedes the truth of the observation but adds that "not a single swallow ever appears in winter." The first bird, he intimates, may be a harbinger of spring and many other birds may follow. It is about time certain transoceanic orators and journalists understood

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that haughtiness is often born of an inferiority complex,
that uncertainty about the future pushes people into
insensible acts and that fear leads to dangerous fool-
hardiness.

Russian text:

CPYRGHT

chto spes rozhdayetsya chasto kompleksom nepolnotsennosti,
chto neuverennost v budushchem tolkayet lyudey na
nerazumnie postupki i chto strakh vedet k opasnomu
likhachestvu.

The difficulties involved in bringing the Cold War to an end, says Ehrenburg, are not to be underestimated. On the other hand, they should not prove to be greater than the hope for peace. It must be borne in mind that "occasionally it snows even in May" (byvayet sneg i v maye) and that "short freezes" (zamorozki) are inevitable. But history, just like nature, follows its own course and "it would be wrong to confuse the first days of spring with Indian summer" (pervye vesennye dni nelzya smeshat s babym letom).

Welfare Activities continue to get attention though they are less prominent in broadcasts now than in the period immediately following Stalin's death. The central theme developed in regional transmissions is that housing for the workers must become the number one item on the building industry's agenda. The building industry is said to be lagging due to poor organization of labor and production. The recent improvement in the general standard of living, the lowering of retail prices and the expansion of the retail trade network has made the continuing housing shortage stand out by comparison. The Party has demonstrated its "solicitude" for the people's welfare, according to SOTSIALISTYCHNA KHARKIVSHCHYNA (21 April), by ordering the construction of 105 million square meters of living space during the current Five Year Plan, and it is now up to the various building organizations to fulfill the plan. However, in Kharkov Oblast, for example, the construction administration has not yet succeeded in "liquidating the backwardness" of its building organizations whose failings are traceable to "incorrect utilization of labor and machinery." The over-all housing picture presented at the end of the

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first quarter was said to be good but a closer look at the performance of the building industry revealed shortcomings. In some organizations red tape, or as the paper calls it "the failure to supply technical documentation on time," is said to account for 40 to 50 percent of the delays.

An unsigned KIZIL UZBEKISTAN article transmitted from Tashkent on 21 April says that the Republic's consumer industry must eliminate "serious shortcomings" by increasing output and raising the quality of production. The demand for higher quality goods "is constantly increasing," it points out, but the Uzbek Ministry of Trade cannot even meet the plan in regard to quantity. The "uz-Shvey-Trest" (Uzbek Garment Trust) has failed to produce the number of garments required for each season. The Republican Industrial Council (Uzbek-prom-soviet), the local trade enterprises and leather-manufacturing trusts are similarly in arrears having failed to "satisfy the consumers' demands" over an unspecified long period of time.

A "considerable increase" in the output of mass-consumption articles and a further extension of retail trade by the end of the fifth Five-Year Plan is outlined in a talk by Shulak published in LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 24 April. The oblast trade outlets will be increased by 42 percent and "communal feeding enterprises" (predpriatia obshchestvennogo pitania) by 10 percent. The most spectacular advances, however, are visualized in civilian land and water freight and passenger services. "First-class river ports now under construction at Stalingrad, Kuybyshev, Ulyanovsk, Kazan, Gorkiy, Yaroslavl, Molotov, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk, Kotlas and Pechora are promised also to Civil Air Transport passengers. The total length of interurban telephone and telegraph cables will be doubled by 1955, and the power of radio stations will increase. It is also planned to introduce ultrashortwave voice broadcasts and radio relay communications. All these and other achievements are practically within reach, according to Shulak, but a number of shortcomings, particularly in rail transportation, will have to be eliminated first:

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To solve this task successfully it is necessary to curtail the idleness of rolling stock at stations and shunting lines, improve the speed of trains and perfect their movement.

Glowing reports of housing construction are broadcast from Leningrad, Kiev, Stavropol, Zaporozhye and other large cities, all praising the "fatherly care" of the working class manifested by the Party and the government. The rapidly rising standard of living in the Soviet Union, says TRUD on 30 April, becomes all the more impressive when compared to the "absolute impoverishment" (absolutnoye obnizhcheniye) of the laboring masses in the capitalist countries. The cost of living in the United States is said to have "almost trebled" (vozroslo pochtu v tri raza) and in the West European countries the situation is even worse. In West Germany alone seven million people are reported to be deprived of housing facilities while the living standard of the rest of the population is deteriorating. (In all discussions of housing in the USSR absolute figures are omitted.)

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